

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USBERLIN 1605

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, CSCE, WB

SUBJECT: BERLIN AND CSCE AFTER A YEAR

REF: 75 USBERLIN 1482

1. SUMMARY: WE PREDICTED A YEAR AGO THAT SIGNATURE OF CSCE FINAL ACT WOULD HAVE LITTLE DISCERNIBLE DIRECT EFFECT ON BERLIN. THIS PROGNOSTICATION--ADMITTEDLY NOT A VERY DIFFICULT ONE--HAS BEEN BORNE OUT. CSCE, WITH ALL THE HOPES AND FEARS THAT GERMANS ATTACHED TO THAT CONFERENCE, HAS BECOME A MINOR THEME IN THE DAILY POLITICAL LIFE OF THE CITY WITH EAST AND WEST ATTEMPTING TO CITE FAVORITE PROVISIONS AS SUPPORT FOR THEIR POLICIES. GENERAL INTERPRETATION OF WHETHER THE EFFECT HAS BEEN marginally FAVORABLE OR marginally UNFORTUNATE HAS DEPENDED, HOWEVER, UPON ASSESSOR'S PLACE IN POLITICAL SPECTRUM. A YEAR AFTER HELSINKI SUMMIT, THEREFORE, CSCE IS MOST OFTEN CITED HERE AS A MINOR DEBATE POINT. IF CSCE AGAIN MOVES TO FRONT STAGE, FOR EXAMPLE AS BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP

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CONFERENCE APPROACHES, WE WOULD NONETHELESS EXPECT INTEREST

OF BERLINERS TO INCREASE IN LINE WITH THEIR STANDING CONCERN THAT EUROPE NOT MOVE FORWARD WITHOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN CITY BEING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. END SUMMARY.

2. BERLIN'S GOVERNING MAYOR KLAUS SCHUETZ TOLD BBC INTERVIEWER IN PROGRAM ASSESSING FINAL ACT ONE YEAR AFTER SIGNATURE THAT DOCUMENT HAS HAD NO PERCEPTIBLE EFFECT IN CITY. SCHUETZ NOTED THAT THIS WAS LARGELY ATTRIBUTABLE TO FACT THAT QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT WHICH FORMS BASIC FRAMEWORK FOR CITY'S POLITICAL LIFE WAS CONDITION PRECEDENT TO SUCCESSFUL HELSINKI CONFERENCE NOT OTHER WAY AROUND. SCHUETZ MADE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT BERLINERS CONTINUE TO EXPECT TO SHARE IN WHATEVER CONCRETE BENEFITS CSCE MAY PRODUCE OVER LONG TERM.

3. BERLIN PRESS IN ITS TURN HAS GIVEN RELATIVELY LITTLE PLAY TO CSCE'S FIRST ANNIVERSARY. WHAT HAS APPEARED HAS PREDICTABLY ENOUGH REFLECTED POLITICAL SLANT OF COMMENTATORS. THUS INDEPENDENT, GENERALLY PRO-OSTPOLITIK TAGESSPIEGEL NOTED ON ANNIVERSARY THAT GDR IS APPROVING MORE REQUESTS FOR EXIT VISAS FROM THOSE OF ITS CITIZENS WISHING TO REJOIN FAMILIES IN FRG OR WEST BERLIN. CONSERVATIVE SPRINGER PRESS CITED SAME STATISTICS BUT EMPHASIZED LARGE NUMBERS OF GDR RESIDENTS WHO ARE NOT ALLOWED TO LEAVE DESPITE PROMISE OF HELSINKI, AND THAT CHAIN'S TABLOID, "BZ", DESCRIBED AT SOME LENGTH PARTICULARLY HEART-REDING DETAILS OF SOME INDIVIDUAL CASES.

4. SENAT HAS OCCASIONALLY INCLUDED MENTION OF GDR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO FINAL ACT IN ITS ARGUMENTATION FOR VARIOUS LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS. SENAT'S PRESENTATION ON IMPROVEMENTS TO VISITS ARRANGEMENT EARLIER THIS SUMMER, FOR EXAMPLE, INCLUDED SEVERAL DIRECT QUOTES FROM BASKET THREE DOCUMENTS. GDR FOR ITS PART HAS FREQUENTLY CITED ITS FAVORITE ELEMENTS OF DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES IN SUPPORT OF ITS EFFORTS TO DRAW SENAT INTO FULL SCALE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT "NORMALIZING" RELATIONS, AND IT TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO INCORPORATE REFERENCE TO CSCE, RATHER THAN TO QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, IN LAST FALL'S BOUNDARY RESCUE ARRANGEMENT. IN ALL THESE INSTANCES, HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

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CSCE WAS BROUGHT IN MORE AS DEBATING TECHNIQUE THAN CENTRAL FOCUS. FINAL ACT HAS ALSO NOT HAD NOTICEABLE EFFECT ON SOVIET AND GDR EFFORTS TO NIBBLE AT BERLIN-FRG TIES IN AREAS SUCH AS SPORTS AND INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS WHERE HELSINKI PROMISED GREATER EAST-WEST COOPERATION, A FACT WHICH LOCAL PRESS REGULARLY NOTES AS OCCASION ARISES. THIS HAS NOT RESULTED IN PSYCHOLOGICAL DOWNER FOR CITY AS REFTEL SUGGESTED WAS POSSIBILITY BECAUSE OTHER PARTS

OF EUROPE ARE NOT VIEWED AS BENEFITTING FROM MAJOR IMPROVEMENTS PRODUCED BY CSCE EITHER.

5. AN OBSERVER MIGHT WELL BE PARDONED, THEREFORE, FOR CONCLUDING THAT MEANING OF CSCE FOR BERLIN HAS BEEN INSUBSTANTIAL, AN ADDITION TO RHETORICAL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO VARIOUS PARTIES BUT NO MORE. WE THINK THIS CONCLUSION WOULD BE ACCURATE BUT NOT COMPLETE. AS ARGUED REFTEL, GERMANS AND BERLINERS IN PARTICULAR PROBABLY TAKE HELSINKI FINAL ACT MORE SERIOUSLY THAN ANY OTHER WEST EUROPEANS BECAUSE THEY CONSIDER THAT MUCH OF THE CURRENCY PAID OUT FOR SOVIET BASKET THREE PROMISES RELATED TO THEIR NATIONAL QUESTION, AND BERLIN WALL REMAINS MOST DRAMATIC CONTRADICTION ON HUMANITARIAN MEASURES INCORPORATED IN FINAL ACT. BERLINERS WILL THUS BE GREATLY INTERESTED AS CSCE FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE BEGINS TO TAKE FORM FOR 1977, AND THIS PROCESS WILL BE CLOSELY MONITORED TO DETERMINE WHETHER CITY'S INTERESTS ARE BEING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. BERLIN PRESS HAS ALREADY SHOWN INTEREST IN FRG'S STATED INTENTION TO MAKE RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS WITH GDR A POINT FOR DISCUSSION AT BELGRADE. WE WOULD DOUBT THAT LOCAL POLITICIANS WOULD PUSH TOO HARD FOR FRG OR ALLIES TO RAISE SPECIFIC BERLIN PROBLEMS AT CONFERENCE BECAUSE OF REALIZATION THAT THESE MUST BE RETAINED IN SPECIAL QUADRIPARTITE CONTEXT. SOMEWHERE ALONG ROAD TO BELGRADE, HOWEVER, WE WILL PROBABLY BE FACED AGAIN WITH NEED TO DEVISE NEW "ANDORRA SOLUTION" TO DEMONSTRATE THAT BERLIN SITUATION HAS NOT BEEN LAID TO SIDE WHILE EUROPE MOVES ON WITH CSCE PROCESS.

6. IN SUMMARY, THEN, CSCE IS AT PRESENT ONLY A MINOR FACTOR IN CITY'S POLITICAL CALCULUS. THIS FLOWS LARGELY FROM FACT THAT BERLINERS DO NOT SEE CONFERENCE AS HAVING CONFIDENTIAL

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MADE ALL THAT MUCH DIFFERENCE AS YET IN EUROPE. WHEN TIME COMES THAT FINAL ACT IS SEEN AS PRODUCING MAJOR RESULTS OR AT LEAST WHENEVER SOME SORT OF PROVISIONAL BALANCE SHEET IS DRAWN UP, HOWEVER, BERLIN POLITICAL LEADERS, REFLECTING AVERAGE BERLINER'S PERPETUAL CONCERN FOR CITY'S ISOLATION, WILL AGAIN PRESS FOR CITY'S INTERESTS TO BE INCLUDED, AND ALL NUANCES WILL BE ANALYZED HERE WITH CONSIDERABLE CARE. GEORG

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